

Message Text

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UNCLAS STATE 116342 TOSEC 010028

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT JOSEPH ALSOP COLUMN, MONDAY, MAY 19, WASHPOST, HEADLINED "ANOTHER HITLER-TIME?"
2. IN THE INNER GROUP OF AMERICAN POLICY-MAKERS, THE POST-VIETNAM REASSESSMENT IS NATURALLY PROVING BOTH INTENSE AND PAINFUL. THE PAIN MAINLY ARISES FROM THE SOMBERNESS OF THE CENTRAL QUESTION BEING DEBATED. NO ONE HAS PUT IT QUITE THAT WAY, BUT THE QUESTION CAN BE BEST SUMMED UP AS FOLLOWS:
3. CAN YOU HAVE ANOTHER HITLER-TIME WITHOUT A HITLER?
4. IT IS A PRETTY IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR EVERYONE IN UNCLASSIFIED

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AMERICA. THE TRUTH IS THAT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT INSIDERS NOW SEE THIS COUNTRY AS WELL INTO A PROCESS LIKE THE ONE THAT LED TO WORLD WAR II. ONE RATHER WIDELY QUOTED FORMULA RUNS, "AFTER THE RHINELAND (IN

1936 AND THE LAST REALLY EASY CHANCE TO STOP HITLER) BUT NOT YET PASS THE POINT OF NO RETURN."

5. IF WE ARE IN FACT IN THE MIDST OF A PROCESS RESEMBLING THE TRAGIC DEVELOPMENTS OF THE 1930S, IT WOULD OF COURSE BE BETTER IF WE WERE ALSO FACE TO FACE WITH ANOTHER HITLER FIGURE. SO LOATHSOME A MAN, SO FREE WITH HIS THREATS AND OPEN ABOUT HIS AIMS, WOULD SURELY AROUSE THE COUNTRY IN SHORT ORDER. BUT THE BUREAUCRATIZED SOVIET LEADERS, TIRELESSLY, RELENTLESSLY PLODDING FORWARD ON IRON-SHOD FEET, COULD HARDLY BE LESS HITLER-LIKE.

6. THE SOVIETS HAVE NO GRAND, OBSESSIVE HITLERIAN PLAN OF CONQUEST. THEY DO NOT TAKE HITLERIAN RISKS. THEY MERELY FOLLOW LENIN'S ADVICE TO PROBE WITH BAYONETS ANY SITUATION THAT LOOKS MUSHY, WITHDRAWING ONLY IF THE BAYONETS MEET STEEL.

7. IN THE AMERICAN POLICY-MAKERS' DEBATE, THE FOREGOING VIEW OF THE SOVIETS IS JUSTIFIABLY TAKEN FOR GRANTED FROM LONG EXPERIENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE. BUT QUITE ANOTHER POINT IS BEING MADE BY THOSE DEBATERS WHO HOLD THAT YOU CAN INDEED HAVE ANOTHER HITLER-TIME WITHOUT A HITLER. THEY ARE ALSO ARGUING THAT IT TOOK A LOT MORE THAN HITLER TO PRODUCE THE HITLER-TIME.

8. THIS IS, OF COURSE, EXACTLY RIGHT. THE HISTORICAL HITLER OF THE FINAL PREWAR PHASE, HOVERING OVER EUROPE LIKE A GREEDY BIRD OF PREY, INSTILLING FEAR IN ALMOST ALL THE TREMBLING, AWE IN FAR TOO MANY, WAS NOT THE MERE CREATION OF HIS OWN MISBEGOTTEN GENIUS.

9. THIS COMMON CONCEPTION OF HITLER IS BOTH CHEAP AND SUPERFICIAL. FOR A DEEPER UNDERSTANDING OF ADOLF HITLER'S BRILLIANT INITIAL SUCCESSES, YOU HAVE TO REMEMBER A RULE LAID DOWN BY THE GREAT GERMAN STRATEGIST, KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ, AND OFTEN QUOTED NOWADAYS BY SECRETARY OF UNCLASSIFIED

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STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER. THE RULE IS THAT THOSE WHO FIGHT IN SELF-DEFENSE ARE ALWAYS TO BLAME FOR WARS, SINCE THEIR ENEMIES ALWAYS ASK NOTHING BETTER THAN GETTING ALL THEY WANT WITHOUT FIGHTING.

10. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE HITLER-TIME IN 1932, EVERY POSSIBLE ADVANTAGE LAY WITH FRANCE AND BRITAIN. THEY WERE THE RESPONSIBLE GREAT POWERS OF THE PERIOD--WHEREAS THE UNITED STATES WAS THEN PERIPHERAL--BECAUSE THEY WERE THE DOMINANT POWERS IN EUROPE. EACH WAS RICHER BY FAR THAN GERMANY. TOGETHER, THEY ALSO ENJOYED A WIDE MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER GERMANY--UNTIL HITLER'S REARMAMENT WAS WELL ADVANCED.

11. YET THE BRITISH AND FRENCH REFUSED TO INCREASE THEIR

OWN STRENGTH IN STEP WITH HITLER'S REARMAMENT. THEY MISSED THEIR EASY CHANCE IN 1936, WHEN HITLER WAS COMMITTED TO RESIGN IF THE REOCCUPATION OF THE RHINELAND MET WITH THE SLIGHTEST RESISTANCE. THEY MADE THE SORDID MUNICH AGREEMENT IN 1938. AND IN THE END THEY HAD TO GO TO WAR ANYWAY, WITH EVERY FORMER ADVANTAGE ALREADY LOST TO THEM, BECAUSE THEIR ONLY OTHER CHOICE WAS TO GET READY TO SUBMIT TO HITLER A BIT FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD.

12. TWO FACTORS QUITE EXTERNAL TO GERMANY IN TRUTH CREATED THE SITUATION THAT HITLER EXPLOITED SO LONG. THE FIRST FACTOR WAS THE FLACCID BRITISH AND FRENCH ACCEPTANCE, AS THE '30S PROGRESSED, OF A POSITION OF GRAVE MILITARY INFERIORITY AMOUNTING TO MILITARY DISARMAMENT. WORSE STILL, HOWEVER, WAS THE SECOND FACTOR. ALMOST UNTIL THE MOMENT WHEN THEY BELATEDLY TURNED AND FOUGHT, THE BRITISH AND FRENCH WERE MORALLY DISARMED AS WELL.

13. THESE GRIM FACTS FROM THE PAST NOW HAUNT THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE AMERICAN POLICY-MAKERS FOR AN EXTREMELY SIMPLE REASON. POST-VIETNAM, THE SIGNS ARE PLAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES NOW SUFFERS FROM THE KIND OF MORAL DISARMAMENT THAT FINALLY ENDED THE LONG CAREERS OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS GREAT POWERS IN THE WORLD.

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14. ONE MUST NOT TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY THE MORE MACABRE KIND OF THINKING THAT NOW FLOURISHES ON THE FLOOR OF THE U.S. SENATE. YET SEN. FRANK CHURCH OF IDAHO IS AFTER ALL A FAIRLY REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE PRESENT FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. SO IT WAS A SIGN NOT TO BE IGNORED WHEN SEN. CHURCH RECENTLY ANNOUNCED ON TELEVISION THAT HE SAW NO REASON FOR THE UNITED STATES TO DEFEND ANY POSITIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PACIFIC. THAT OCEAN, HE SAID, WOULD BE A GOOD ENOUGH "MOAT."

15. PRESUMABLY THIS MEANS SEN. CHURCH NOW WANTS TO THROW AWAY ALL THAT IS SYMBOLIZED BY THE IWO JIMA MONUMENT, WITH ITS LITTLE GROUP OF MARINES DESPERATELY STRUGGLING TO RAISE THE STARS AND STRIPES. BEYOND MUCH DOUBT, TOO, SEN. CHURCH WAS SPECIFICALLY THINKING ABOUT SOUTH KOREA, WHICH HAS SWIFTLY BECOME A MAJOR DANGER POINT BECAUSE OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN CAMBODIA AND SOUTH VIETNAM.

16. THE SOUTH KOREANS NOW FEAR, AND THE NORTH KOREANS NOW EXPECT, ANOTHER AMERICAN ABANDONMENT. THE MEGALOMANIC NORTH KOREAN COMMUNIST DICTATOR, KIM II SUNG, HAS

JUST GONE TO PEKING TO "RGUE THAT THE PRECEDENT OF

AMERICAN ABANDONMENT OF SOUTHEAST ASIA HAS NOW MADE IT
QUITE SAFE TO LAUNCH ANOTHER ATTACK ON SOUTH KOREA.
ACCORDING TO REPORTS, KIM WILL LATER GO TO MOSCOW--WHICH
HE HAS SCORNE TO DO FOR 10 YEARS--IN ORDER TO PRESENT
THE SAME THESIS.

17. FORTUNATELY OR UNFORTUNATELY, MEANWHILE, AMERICA'S
CREDIT IN THE WORLD IS DEEPLY ENGAGED IN SOUTH KOREA--NOT
TO MENTION THE MIDDLE EAST, BECAUSE OF ISRAEL, AND SEVERAL
OTHER DANGER POINTS AS WELL. THE HIGHER THINKERS, OF
COURSE, SAY THAT OUR COUNTRY'S CREDIT IN THE WORLD IS OF NO
CONSEQUENCE. THE TROUBLE IS THAT THEY ARE MOSTLY TOO WELL
HEELED TO KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO GET A BAD CREDIT RATING.

18. MORE DOWN-TO-EARTH PERSONS KNOW BETTER. A GOOD
CREDIT RATING PERMITS A MAN TO DO ALL SORTS OF DESIRABLE

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THINGS THAT A BAD CREDIT RATING PREVENTS; AND EVEN MORE
IMPORTANT, A GOOD CREDIT RATING PROTECTS A MAN FROM ALL
SORTS OF UNPLEASANTNESS THAT A BAD CREDIT RATING UNFAIL-
INGLY INVITES.

19. ANY NATION'S CREDIT IN THE WORLD FURTHER HAS PRECISELY
THE SAME EFFECTS AS A PRIVATE CREDIT RATING. SO WE CAN
FEAR THE WORST IF WE NOW LACK THE WILL TO MAINTIN OUR
NATIONAL CREDIT IN SOUTH KOREA OR ELSEWHERE. AGAIN, HOW-
EVER, THE HIGHER THINKERS IN THE SENATE AND THE GHASTLY
GROVES OF ACADEME NOW MAINTAIN THAT THERE IS NO REAL
WORST TO FEAR.

20. THEY HAD BETTER GO BACK AND STUDY THE CUBAN MISSILE
CRISIS OF 1962. THE UNITED STATES THEN ENJOYED CRUSHING
SUPERIORITY IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS AND IN LOCAL CONVENTIONAL
FORCES. ABOVE ALL, THE UNITED STATES THEN HAD THE WILL
TO FIGHT, IF NEED BE, TO GET THE SOVIET MISSILES OUT OF
CUBA. NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV'S MOVE IN CUBA WAS IN FACT A
PROBE OF THE FIRMNESS OF THIS U.S. WILL. IF THE NEEDED
WILL HAD BEEN LACKING, TOO, CUBA WOULD NOW BE BRISTLING
WITH RUSSIAN MISSILES AIMED AT OUR HEARTLAND.

21. CUBA FURTHER TYPIFIES THE KIND OF RENEWED SOVIET
PROBE THAT MAY COME SOMEDAY AND COME, TOO, IN THE ABSENCE
OF AMERICA'S NOW-LOST MILITARY SUPERIORITY; WHAT ELSE
CAN WE EXPECT IF THE AMERICAN LOSS OF WILL IS ALSO PROVEN,
LATER ON, BY A WHOLE SERIES OF DUCKED CHALLENGES LIKE THE
ONE THAT WILL PERHAPS OCCUR IN SOUTH KOREA? OR DOES
ANYONE SERIOUSLY SUPPOSE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE CHANGED
LENIN'S RULE ABOUT TESTING MUSHY-LOOKING SITUATIONS?

22. MAYBE CUBA SEEMS TOO FARFETCHED, DESPITE THE RECORD,
AND YOU ALSO DO NOT GIVE A DAMN ABOUT ISRAEL. THEN YOU
MIGHT CONSIDER THE REMOTE AND ILL-DEFENDED PERSIAN GULF.
HERE THE ENERGY JUGULAR OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST
IS NOW NAKEDLY EXPOSED. SO WHAT WILL THE PRESIDENT, THE
CONGRESS AND ,HE HIGHER THINKERS DO IF A LONG COURSE OF
AMERICAN WEAKNESS FINALLY INVITES A SOVIET DECISION TO
SEIZE CONTROL OF THE PERSIAN GULF?

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23. IN SUM, IMITATING THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN THE
TRAGIC '30S WILL BE CATASTROPHICALLY DANGEROUS FOR THE
UNITED STATES IN THE TROUBLED '70S--EVEN IF WE NOW HAVE

NO HITLER FIGURE TO MAKE US SEE THE DANGER CLEARLY
END TEXT. INGERSOLL

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